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ABSTRACT

The focus of this paper is the preparation for and the improvement of teaching as a craft. The author hypothesizes that, in order to improve the art of teaching, the notion of problem solving as a daily routine, access to resource allocation, and a change in the ethos of teaching to include a mastery of the craft and cooperative efforts among the teachers must be encouraged. Aspects of teaching, such as its nature, recruitment, training, rewards and goals, career stages, lack of collegiality, ethos, and structural constraints, are reviewed. Data collected on three out of nine urban sites where efforts were made to stimulate organizational skills of teachers on a continuous basis are then analyzed. The article argues that the state of teaching at present precludes a commitment to school-wide improvement because teachers are isolated from the school bureaucracy and are working autonomously. It concludes that teaching can be improved considerably in an atmosphere that promotes continuous socialization experiences. (AOS)

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# DOCUMENTATION AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE IN URBAN SCHOOLS

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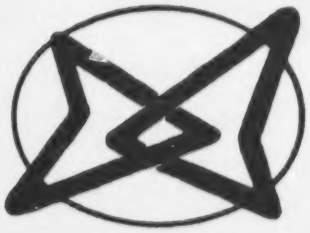

# THE NATURE OF TEACHING

# AND ITS RELATIONSHIP TO SCHOOL IMPROVEMENT

Deborah Baldwin

August 1977

DRAFT VERSION

FOR LIMITED CIRCULATION ONLY

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## PROJECT OVERVIEW

The Documentation and Technical Assistance in Urban Schools Project (DTA) is an effort to learn more about how to make urban public schools work better for urban students. Toward this end, DTA combines educational research and practice within one project. DTA's mandate has three interrelated parts:

DOCUMENTATION - to study, using primarily ethnographic techniques, the ways in which selected urban schools organize themselves to solve problems. Documentation focuses upon nine sites throughout the country selected and funded by NIE to continue to engage in locally initiated improvement activities.

TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE - to develop in practice specific strategies which are designed to improve urban public schooling. Technical assistance strategies are based in part upon documentation of useful practices in the nine funded sites.

LINKAGE - to increase understanding, through observation of DTA's attempts to link documentation with technical assistance, of the processes through which research can be useful to practice, and practice can influence research.

Our work is designed to effect school improvement through direct work in urban public schools and through sharing what we learn with the following audiences: parents, teachers, and administrators of urban public schools; the educational research community; groups or agencies working to assist urban schools; policy makers.

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## INTRODUCTION

An underlying assumption of this research on the capacity of urban schools for problem solving is that certain features of their settings will build a capacity which will allow the school continually to improve itself (see Wilson, S., 1977). This paper focuses upon the feature of teaching and upon issues regarding preparation for and improvement of the craft.*

The craft of teaching needs exploration for several reasons. First, teachers are the most numerous and immediate actors in schools (except for students). Second, the bureaucratic organization of schools allows much autonomy to teachers within their classroom. They make discretionary judgements about procedures and students within their realm. Thus, understanding the rationale for their decisions or their irrational behavior will make more lucid the question of how schools work. And third, the teacher is the final implementor of most innovations attempted in the schools (House, 1974). Their commitment, rejection, or indifference toward any innovation has a profound effect on its impact in the school.

Because the teacher is one of the most important actors in the school, this paper will deal with features of the studied sites that create a situation that is responsive to the nature of teaching as a craft. This approach assumes that efforts to build a capacity for self-improvement in schools will have a better chance of success if they consider the state of the craft first because, as it is, it is not compatible with innovation at a school-wide level. The completeness with which alterations in the

* I use the term craft to emphasize the acquisition of the skill or ability to teach as opposed to the use of the word profession which denotes a vocation requiring training in the liberal arts or the sciences and advanced study. The emphasis in the latter is the completion of training and not the acquisition of a set of skills.

nature of the occupation or allowances for them, are made will most likely determine the degree of vitality that any effort to improve schools will have.

## THE NATURE OF TEACHING

Before a description of the features of the sites we observed a brief discussion of the nature of teaching seems necessary so that we will understand what we must come to grips with in building capacity for problem solving. In spite of the size and visibility of the job few studies have delved into the recruitment, socialization and training of teachers. Relatively little is known about the nature of their work, the patterns of of their formal and informal relationships, or their feelings and attitudes derived from and toward work. What knowledge we do have is not historically complete for in most cases it is based on the nature of the occupation at a particular point in time and space.

The following pages are based in part on some of the useful research work that has been conducted. Willard Waller's (1965) classic The Sociology of Teaching, though written in the 1930's, remains highly informative. Robert Dreeben's (1970) The Nature of Teaching offers both insight and critical observations on teaching as an occupation. Most recently, Dan C. Lortie's (1975) acclaimed Schoolteacher gives us a well-organized, perceptive, and coherent study of teachers and their work. Unfortunately, teaching viewed strictly as a craft from an historical perspective, has not been seriously studied so that emphasis from this particular focus must wait (David Cohen is now in the process of such work).

It is not enough to view teaching as work tasks in a classroom. In

order to examine the nature of teaching we must: (1) understand recruitment of individuals into the occupation; (2) delineate the training teachers receive and their socialization; (3) define the reward structures and goals which teachers view as most salient; (4) look at the career staging in teaching; (5) delimit the collegial structuring in the occupation; (6) determine the occupational ethos of teaching; and finally, (7) explore the structural constraints under which teachers work. Lortie, Waller, and Dreeben among others, discuss this issue at length. The following brief review about teaching will help organize the themes for discussing teaching as a feature of problem solving capacity. Teaching is work. While the processes of recruitment, training, socialization, and the development of commitment are generally considered important to maintain a craft, they also have important effects on the nature of a search for improvement in a craft.

## Recruitment

The way individuals are inducted into an occupation will influence values, attitudes and knowledge about the work at hand. As we will see, these processes have direct and important influence on teacher performance. Recruitment into teaching might be said to begin at the age of five or six. Teaching is one of the first occupations with which a young child will come in contact. It is an occupation with high "visibility". This increases the potential pool of future teachers.

Occupations offer different types of rewards and require different "costs" to enter. Different occupations attract different people according to the particular type and extent of their rewards and the costs they incur for entry. Teaching has been known as an easy occupation to enter at

least for middle class individuals. A teaching degree is not difficult to acquire, and before the recent teacher surplus, jobs were fairly plentiful. It also offered a stable job with respectability.

Teaching, easy to enter, also has rather unique rewards. Wages are not high, but until recently there had been much perceived security. In addition the hours the teachers work fit well with those of their children. If they wished to have a family, it was seen as simple to leave the occupation while their children were young and then easy to return later. Not only was initial entry seen as easy, re-entry was also not difficult. Furthermore, the salary schedule is "front loaded". In one's first year of teaching the salary is usually 50% of the potential later salary. The implications of this situation may be that teaching is not a central part of the participant's life because of the lack of ritual in entry and, as we shall see, the lack of formal socialization.

## Training

Occupations must make sure that people are trained to accomplish their tasks. As Wheeler (1965) notes: "When a person moves into a new interpersonal setting, a major problem he (she) faces is understanding the setting and coming to terms with its demands." Training for teaching generally involves classroom lectures, practice teaching, and learning by doing once the person takes his or her first classroom (Lortie, 1975). Let us examine the training process of teachers and see how it might influence later performance.

Undergraduate education courses are almost universally decried. Some teachers have considered them too easy or not relevant to teaching or both. Lortie has contended that when teachers complain that these courses are lacking in "intellectual sustance" and are "too theoretical", teachers

were not being contradictory. He states that the teacher find courses "too theoretical" when the goals espoused are too exalted, too utopian, too unreachable. Teachers are taught to seek utopian goals without the requisite intellectual training. The lack of a clear and critical technical knowledge in teaching or that type of knowledge that can be communicated in the form of propositions (Cohen, 1977) is a recurring theme. The past has taught most teachers that they cannot rely on outsiders for help. If they are to feel success in the classroom it must be an individual effort.

Practice teaching is another important aspect of teacher training. This involves a student spending six to ten weeks with one classroom teacher, who often gets the job by volunteering. As Dreeben (1970) has said of this experience:

> Practice teaching, however, being primarily dyadic in character, tends to restrict the apprentice's scope of vision and experience to events occuring under the jurisdiction of one cooperating teacher.

And Wheeler (1965) helps in an understanding of the importance of the situation when he writes:

> A primary feature of the setting that may aid the recruit in developing a meaningful definition of it (the setting or situation) is the extent to which others in the setting are or have been in his position and can aid his adaptation.

The beginning teacher's isolation in the school is striking given the impact it has. We cannot go into the complications of practice teaching at this time, but let it be said that as a mode of training it lacks clear goals and procedures with regard to socialization to practice. We do know that it exposes the student to one teacher, one member of the occupation. The young future teacher therefore receives neither a variety of approaches

from several teachers, nor does he or she gain the chance to learn how to relate to and learn from other members of the occupation. It does not give a student the knowledge or experience needed to pursue ongoing development of the craft.

The starting teacher's first job is approached with trepidation, and for good reason. The unseasoned teacher is expected to take on full responsibility of the classroom on the first day. The first year teacher and the fourteen year veteran have the same level of responsibility. The new teacher is in a confined space with thirty pupils, two erasers, and three pieces of chalk, alone. Teachers have contended, and we have little reason to doubt them, that their undergraduate training and practice teaching did not prepare them for the exigencies of their own classroom.

How then do they learn how to teach? Without specific skills for coping with the collective demands of the classroom the new teacher uses what few skills he or she has learned, but primarily falls back on experiences he or she had as a student in school. Obviously, this biographical recall is basically idiosyncratic in nature and not based on any generalized knowledge of concepts and theories. Dreeben (1970) writes:

> Hence the portrait of the beginning teacher: cut off from the sources of knowledge underlying his work, isolated from colleagues and superiors, left alone to figure out the job -- discover, correct, or repeat his own errors -- through his own experience.

And Waller (1965) adds:

> The new teacher confronts a situation wholly undefined and he (she) has very little idea as to the details of of the definition that would be desirable from his (her) own point of view. The experienced teacher who faces a new class faces an undefined situation, and it is part

> of his (her) job to impose his (her) definition of the situation upon the class quickly, before any alternatives have had an opportunity to be considered.

There has been no effort to teach the teacher how continually to expand their learning base. This early and important training experience is a personal activity and fosters a personal approach to on-the-job learning It crystallizes an individualistic approach to teaching and mitigates against the formation of collegiality and melioration of the craft.

Closely related to any occupational training sequence is the socialization process for the work group. Occupational socialization seeks to inculcate the new teacher with the attitudes, values, and orientations of that particular work force. Occupational socialization fosters a sense of community among members of the subculture. A strong sense of community makes the informal structures of the occupation gain salience, pride increases, and energy for maintaing occupational prowess becomes available. According to Brim and Wheeler (1966): "Socialization refers to the process by which persons acquire the knowledge, skills, and dispositions that make them more or less members of their society." If socialization does occur in practice teaching it is often to the peculiarities of a school or more likely to a group within a school, not to teaching in general.

As Lortie (1975, p. 79) states, "socialization into teaching is largely 'self-socialization'; one's personal predispositions are not only relevant but, in fact, stand at the core of becoming a teacher." Teaching is not viewed as a "shared intellectual possession" (Lortie, 1975, p. 81). Because of this, teachers do not seem to possess a sense of occupational community as do doctors, airplane pilots, truck drivers and others. Teachers have

neither ordeal nor intense inculcation of values and attitudes to weld them into a tight unit.

What effect will this have on skill improvement among teachers and the teachers' ability to view the school as a totality? Poor occupational socialization means weak informal ties among teachers at a school-wide or district-wide level. It intensifies the move toward individualism and lack of collegiality. In occupations with high levels of "we-feeling" you also find high levels of information interchange that will aid them in their work (Lortie, 1975). Truck drivers even exchange traffic information and "smokey" warnings. While teachers sometimes rely on this type of information it is not recognized as legitimate as it is with other crafts.

Reward Structures and Goals

What do teachers find rewarding? What draws them to teaching? Several rewards have already been mentioned. In the past, the ease of re-entry to teaching after bringing up children or trying another job was seen as a reward of teaching. The liberal vacation schedule is an important reward, as is the possiblity of having a second job or intense vocational interest while holding a teaching position.

Rewards derived from the task of teaching in the classroom are somewhat more elusive. Education has always made grandiose the goals teachers seek in the classroom. These goals range from "producing good citizens" to "bringing out the full potential of the child". Needless to say these intangible goals are difficult to reach if not impossible to perceive once they are attained, and most often teachers receive little help in concretely moving toward these grand goals. As a result, teachers seek more tangible goals. As teaching will not make one rich, teachers often seek

"psychic rewards", the personal pleasure which comes from helping a student learn, do well on an achievement test, or win the shot-put contest. Teachers more often find rewards not in what the class achieved as a whole, but rather in individual student's achievements. Teachers also are prone to participate in activities which would enhance their chances for "psychic rewards" rather than assist the organization to seek its goals.

Though this type of self-concerned orientation may not help schools solve organizational problems, this approach will be an enhancing factor in promoting teachers' skill improvement and if redirected could help the organization. If "psychic rewards" are important to teachers, and they appear to be, the organization must consider what psychic rewards it has to offer teachers.

## Career Stages

Occupational careers often possess what are known as "career stages". These are clearly definable steps of greater responsibility, status, salary, or seniority clearly defined by one's occupational group. Doctors begin as students, become junior interns, interns, residents, doctors, and perhaps finally "house staff". Each represents a more respected position. Career staging provides both recognition and incentive to cohorts. As Lortie (1975) says:

> Staged careers produce cycles of effort, attainment, and renewed ambition. In tying the individual to the occupation they give him a stake in its future. Staging gives reality and force to the idea of the future; it generates effort, ambition, and identification with the occupation (p. 85).

Public school teaching, though, is one of the least staged careers in the U.S. occupational structure. Most schools do not have differental positions for teachers. A teacher is a teacher, except when he or she becomes a principal. For the vast majority of schools (through some are

experimenting with differential staffing and team-teaching) the single stage career and the single salary schedule is the most common. The career of teaching offers no way to gain prestige, responsibility, or significantly greater income and still remain a teacher. This no doubt has a clear and depressing effect on long-range commitment to change. There are few opportunities for professional advancement. Those who work harder, learn more skills, or aid first year teachers are not rewarded for their effort; and ambitious teachers are forced to leave the classroom or education itself to advance professionally (House, 1974). (Taking courses is rewarded, but all are rewarded equally whether they teach better or not.)

The lack of a staged career structure in teaching works against improving teacher performance or in creating a commitment to school improvement. One is rewarded for leaving teaching not staying in it and improving.

## Collegiality

Another important aspect of teaching that must be examined is collegiality among teachers. The composite portrait of the occupation of teaching shows single teachers learning their craft relatively alone, isolated for their entire career from other adults during their work day, seeking rewards from the achievement and relationship with students in their classrooms. Collegiality among teachers which lends itself to the exchange of information related to the task of teaching is all but nonexistent. Though unionism has increased the sense of "groupness" it has not produced an increase in the interchange of ideas, theories, and information among occupational colleagues. Collegiality in other occupations

has been an important source of information, analysis, and growth. The occupational ethos of teaching runs counter to collegiality.

## Ethos

Ethos is defined as "the complex of fundamental values that underlies, permeates, or activates major patterns of thought and behavior in any particular culture, society, or institution" (Webster's Third International, 1974). Occupations often have an ethos, that constellation of values which influences the membership. The occupational ethos as delineated in Lortie's (1975) book Schoolteacher includes three major elements: individualism, presentism, and conservatism.

Individualism is a pervasive aspect of teaching. Early training reinforces personal and separate acquistion of skills. First year teachers are required to work alone with little contact or help from fellow teachers. The cellular structure of schools continues this pattern for most of the career of the teacher. Individualism is further expanded into the area of technology through the belief in teaching as "ineffable", an art to be developed out of one's personal, internal resources.

Presentism is a second important facet of the occupational ethos of teaching. The presentist orientation is developed through the recruitment of teachers who do not view their commitment as long-term, through the lack of ambition and involvement-raising career staging or from the instability of the profession due, for instance, to the current financial crisis in many cities. The tendency is for one to become more concerned with the present situation when an occupation offers few rewards for being future oriented. Presentism often retards the growth of collegiality.

Conservatism is the third central orientation in teaching as delineated by Lortie. As with presentism, the way teachers are recruited from the population, and the training and socialization they receive discourages an orientation toward change, problem solving and improvement. This orientation is not countered or meliorated by the new teacher's training experiences. In fact, a "more-of-the-same" approach becomes ingrained into teachers through their socialization and training. In addition, individualism and presentism, themselves aspects of the occupational ethos, stimulate and reinforce a conservatism among many teachers.

If the occupational ethos of teaching tends toward individualism, presentism, and conservatism, then any attempts to create a situation that supports problem solving must take into consideration the "complex of fundamental values that underlie, permeate, and activate major patterns of thought and behavior" (Webster's Third International, 1974).

## Structural Constraints

The structural characteristics of the classrooms are the most obvious features of the setting. A classroom consists of somewhere in the neighborhood of thirty pupils and one adult who is called the teacher. Each child is given a specific desk and spends most of the day in it. Teachers are isolated from other adults most of the day. They work alone with individuals much younger.

The nature of the classroom is affected by the composition of its clientele. Compulsory attendance is the standard way of bringing children into schools. Classes are usually formed of age cohorts who vary in intelligence, emotional development, and motivation. Classrooms are crowded,

bounded areas of a collective nature. The teacher must deal with students both as a collective group and as individuals. Needless to say the aforementioned attributes of classrooms makes the task of the teacher exceedingly problematic. She must both maintain control and impart information.

The temporal characteristics of schools are perhaps even more uniform. Schools meet from 9 a.m. until 3 p.m., give or take a half an hour. In the elementary school there is a recess, sometimes two. The school year is punctuated with vacations. Schools are open from September until the first week in June. Schools are closed over the summer.

At this point you are probably asking yourself why we are reiterating such seemingly trivial facts. Yes, this is what schools are like, but so what?

At least two important inferences can be drawn from this information. The first is that schools do not seem to have leaders, planners, or creative thinkers who are experimenting with new spatial and temporal arrangements. The similarities between schools points to the enormous problem of conservatism already discussed - the lack of vitality, the ability to change. Why have schools maintained these structural chacteristics? What effect does the collective, compulsory nature of the classroom have on teaching? Why are schools closed during the summer when the society is no longer primarily agrarian? This is only a beginning of such questioning.

A second, and perhaps for this discussion more important, inference derives from the isolation of teachers from colleagues. Teachers do not have the chance to see others work. The last time they watched another

teacher was during practice teaching. That contact was relatively short and involved only one teacher. Teachers do not have the chance to watch fellow members of the occupation apply their trade. Increasing their knowledge through direct observation is clearly limited by the structural constraints of the present school configuration.

Similarly, teachers do not have the opportunity to receive feedback from peers about their own teaching. As Robert Dreeben (1970) has noted:

> Working in relative isolation, often without efficacious sanctions at their disposal and in the absence of a codified body of knowledge with which to judge the appropriateness of his (her) actions and to remedy his (her) errors, the teacher may find himself (herself) in a position where he (she cannot readily distinguish the symptoms of classroom disorder from the reason for them, or cannot understand why he seems to be making little or no headway in his instructional efforts (p. 99).

The uncertainty, anxiety, and frustration deriving from a situation where information, suggestions, and problem solving are not available can be enormous. Teachers, and this is particularly true for beginning teachers, are required to work with complex problems which develop in the intense atmosphere of the classroom without the assistance of those of their occupation who are more skilled than they are.

In summary teaching is complex; its goals grand; its primary rewards, psychological; its technology ill defined; and it tasks, an individual effort. The result is that teachers have great responsibilities within their classrooms but are given little responsibility by the school organization to effect their situation or school-wide issues. In most cases they have internalized this view from outside and have little respect for their role. What have the DTA sites done in response to the nature of teaching

that would lead to ongoing improvement and vitality over time?

## THE USE OF DATA IN THIS PAPER

Before moving forward into the specific efforts of each site, we need a brief review of the significance of the particular sites studied, the methodology employed for the writing of this paper, and limitations of the data. The primary focus of this analysis is the three sites that proposed to work through teachers to stimulate organizational improvement in an ongoing manner. The amount of emphasis on teachers varies from site to site; therefore, I have chosen sites from which teacher data were most available. This does not indicate that teachers have no role in the other sites, only that they were not the primary focus of the assistance group. It also does not mean that there was an exclusive concern with teachers in the sites chosen. Even the amount of attention to issues and consequent quality of information related to the nature of teaching varies in the documentation of the school improvement strategies which explicitly focus their efforts on teaching.

The choice of these sites was dependent upon the focus of the assistance group and thus our research. The sites are the Assistors Service (8) and University Center of the Central Univerisity (8) of New York, Program for Satellite Teacher Centers (5) in Iroquois City (5) and The El Dorado (3) Project for Faculty Development (3). Other projects considered in this paper are the Neighborhood Corporation for Educational Improvement (9) and The School Self-Improvement Project (1) in New York City. A description of these sites from the DTA Project Overview (Wilson, T. 1977) follows:

New York
Responsive Education Program (REP) (8)

The Assistors Service (8) and University Center (8) of the Central University (8) of New York received a grant to extend its long term work in the Responsive Education Program (8) in nine New York schools. This project works to promote the development of open education within the public schools. A special emphasis is placed on developing arrangements by which teachers can support each other in their day-to-day classroom activities. DTA studies two of these schools.

Iroquois City
Program for Satellite Teacher Center (5)

The joint Iroquois City Public Schools - Iroquois University Satellite Teacher Center (5) received a grant to establish a teacher center in the east area of the city. The teacher center was designed to provide a place where teachers could control their own professional development with the collaboration of administrators and community members. The Model Teacher Center (5) serves three elementary schools and a junior high. DTA studies two of these schools.

El Dorado
Faculty Development Project (FDP) (3)

The El Dorado Teachers Association (3) sponsored the Faculty Development Project (3). This project works to increase teacher participation in local school decision making by establishing faculty councils and writing school constitutions which specify types and levels of teacher involvement. NIE funded FDP (3) to work in ten elementary and junior high schools. DTA studies three of these schools.

New York
Neighborhood Corporation for Educational Improvement (9)

The Neighborhood Corporation for Educational Improvement (NCEI) (9) is a community organization designed to create a comprehensive education center. NIE funded NCEI's work in East Town H.S. (9), an experimental school within the New York system which features extensive collaboration between staff, students, and community at all levels of decision making.

New York
School Self-Improvement Project (1)

The Coalition for Business and Education Collaboration (CBEC) (1) a business support organization in New York City, was concerned about the quality of education in the city schools. They designed the project to stimulate a self-improvement process in schools through organizational development consultation. The purposes are to teach participants systematic planning, and to create roles which encourage problem solving. NIE funded CBEC to work in eight high schools. DTA studies two of these schools.

It should be noted that the focus on the Iroquois City site will be expanded to include School 1 in addition to the Satellite Teacher Center (5). These sites were not selected for the purpose of this analysis of teachers. Other sites might or might not have been more appropriate. (For details of selection procedure see Wilson, S., 1977.)

The analysis was built upon a review of the field data forms submitted by site researchers describing their observations of the activities of each of the funded projects, the available internal documents of the projects, and the case study drafts. In addition, face to face discussions were held with several site researchers to elaborate and to gather information not yet recorded. Throughout the process, discussions continued among research coordinators and other DTA personnel that helped focus the analysis.* The data were collected by using a grounded process. The site researchers were not testing hypothesis nor were they aware of the focus of this paper

*Some potential sources of data which will become available to DTA researchers were not reviewed at this writing. These include the San Andreas case study, the completed version of the Federal City Case study draft and the internal site documents needed by site researchers for their own work on the final draft of the case study. Future DTA analysis on this subject will rectify some of these shortcomings.

at the same time of their data gathering. As a result, the quality and quantity of material relevant for this study varies considerable from site to site. Having now concluded our description of the sites from which our data comes and of how we have used it, we will now proceed to describe arrangements for improving the practice of teaching.*

## ARRANGEMENTS FOR IMPROVING THE PRACTICE OF TEACHING

It is clear from the foregoing discussion that improvement of the practice of teaching will be enhanced by some combination of arrangements which address the nature of teaching rather than by arrangements which do not attend to its nature. The organization of typical teacher training and practice does not provide well for the improvement of practice. Some arrangements that we have observed in the nine sites do attempt to improve practice. From them we have learned some of the features of helpful assistance strategies. They provide socialization to practice relevant skills and experiences commonly lacking in formal preparatory and on-the-job experiences of teachers. Three types of helpful arrangements are present in

* It should be clearly stated that in an attempt to make this paper a manageable length neither a full description of the sites, the assistance groups, the schools, the support structures, nor general context will be detailed. It is expected that interested readers will refer to the case study prepared by each site researcher.

some of the experiences of people in the nine sites: (1) situated resources, such as teacher centers; (2) change agents or facilitators, such as advisors who assist teachers within their own classrooms; (3) cooperative groups, such as school corridors within which a number of teachers integrate their teaching practice and its improvement. Each type of arrangement for the improvement of the practice of teaching will be described and illustrated in the following sections. It should be noted, however, that separable as they are in concept and often in practice, none of these arrangements alone can address all the core components of teaching practice which were introduced in the preceding section. The interdependence of these types of arrangements each with the other and the related limitations of each alone will also be highlighted in the following sections.

## Situated Resources

Three of the nine sites had situated resources for the improvement of teaching practice. They were: (1) a teacher center with an assistance service to teachers in schools (site 8); (2) a teacher center located within one mile of four schools (site 5); (3) workshops for teachers within a community controlled high school (site 9). Our observations of these situated resources led us to propose that there are certain structural features along which they differ and which relate to their differential effectiveness. First the three examples of situated resources will be described. This section will conclude with a discussion of certain instructural features of the resources.

### Examples of Situated Resources

The University Center (8). The University Center for Open Education (8) is located at the project's headquarters at Central University of New York (8)

and was established 3 years after the Assistors Service (8) began. It was established in 1972 under the sponsorship of the Board of Education and Central University (8). It is a free facility funded under Title III of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 among others grants.

Its objective, according to a University Center (8) publication (The University Center for Responsive Education, n.d.) is to offer services that are essential to the understanding of:

1. The rationale of open education...
2. The relationship between language and experience...
3. The institutional conditions that facilitate change in the schools...
4. The problems and solutions in classroom organization, planning, recording, and testing...
5. The nature of curriculum...
6. How-to demonstrations of photography, crafts, cooking, music, and movement for classroom adoption.

Its physical plant (three rooms which were previously physics labs) offers a woodworking shop, plant/animal area, darkroom, math and science areas, language areas, clay area, weaving, water and sand area, cooking and resource library. All are supplied with abundant materials.

The center moves toward the above objectives in several ways. First, it brings experienced teachers together weekly for discussion and reflection. It brings parents together to help them understand open education concepts and how they can support the work. It brings principals, parents and teachers together to discuss common interests in addition to being a place where assisters as well as teachers experience skill growth and communication. It is a place for exchanging ideas and information. A portion of this information circulates through a monthly newsletter which announces topics of upcoming meetings and university courses of interest to teachers. Another publication reports ideas and developments in programs related to the Center.

A review of several workshop calendars reveal the content areas discussed at workshop meetings to be:

Children's literature: mime and drama
Bilingual cultural studies
All about light
African math games
Social climate of the classroom
Movement
Sources of curriculum
Open classroom organization
Whats on your mind
Perception on creative experience

And topics in the publication include:

Dealing with crisis
Talking and writing
Teaching upper grade math
Reflection on teaching
Teachers on their own growth

In addition to regular experienced teacher meetings the University Center (8) is the location of weekly assister planning and reporting meetings for the assisters working in the schools and in the center. Most of the center activities are conducted by these assisters.

The above outlines the skeleton of the University Center (8). The structure itself addresses several issues for the nature of teaching. First, because it is located at Central University (8) and its faculty and students often participate in center activities, student teachers, if they volunteer, can early in their careers have an opportunity to hear teachers reflect on activities and children in the classroom. Second, teachers are given a place to exchange ideas and build collegial relationships although this may not affect collegiality in the school; third, the context of these discussions gives teachers an opportunity to discuss wide ranging goals and some intellectual substance to deal with them (note the topics listed).

Fourth, it also offers teachers the opportunity to move away from the idiosyncratic nature of teaching by reinforcing the sharing of specific ideas and skills. All participation is voluntary.

To illustrate the reality of this description I will extract from the date the flow of several University Center (8) meetings.

Experienced Teacher Meeting, April 20, 1977

> ...The focus for discussion is chapter 11 from Vulnerability, Coping and Growth by Lois Barclay Murphy, whose main theme is the triumph over adversity, physical, psychological and cultural experienced by children....Experienced teachers have elected to (this book) at the suggestion of M.B. Two teachers at each session assume leadership for the discussion.
>
> ...(The leader) says she encountered some sterotypes in the documentation about the child, Helen, mainly of a sexist nature...Teachers one by one discussed the strength of the child....her needs despite parental indifference, and the success of the child in school despite heavy odds. Teacher K.T. says, "As teacher sometimes we know so very little about... a child may be subjected to...several teachers argue with her about how much she could possibly know about the child, and also "you know the child is right now, you cannot predict where the child is going to be in ten years. You can't write people off." This conversation triggers off a very extended discussion about the reinstitution of IGC Intellectually Gifted Classes."

Experienced Teacher Meeting, June 1, 1977

> (It was) the last experienced teacher meeting of the year. The presenter at this meeting is C.B., a young woman who is a researcher...Her present study on which she is reporting ...concerns her observations of 10-11 year olds in art and shop experiences...M.B. chairs the meeting...C.B. distributes a detailed report of the observations she has conducted...M.B. makes the comment that the long observation conducted by C.B. can't be attempted by teachers "they simply don't have the time, but looking is important - and of course one thinks about what one sees."...Points made by C.B. ...the conversational verbal ability differs among children dependent on situational context, and person interacted with...Teacher J.T. asks "What point in the year was the observation done?" Another teacher asks "Was it deliberate on the part of the teacher to introduce the activity as a montage, so that children who were familiar with the activity could explain it to children who were not?"....

> (Site Researcher comment) There appeared to be a high degree of involvement by the teachers....The TAG director appeared to be...placing the observations in a broader frame...assistor U.Q. appeared to also be performing this function.

In both examples it should be noted that communication among teachers was the process clearly stressed at the Center (8) and in both cases (as with many more examples) the content of this communication involved nitty-gritty classroom issues within an intellectual frame. The classroom issues may sustain the teachers interest and the intellectual frame may aid them in systematically dealing with the issues.

Iroquois City (5). The Satellite Teacher Center (5) is the project funded by NIE in Iroquois City. The proposal was written by the director of the Model Teacher Center which is closely connected with Iroquois University. It was an effort to expand an already existing idea to a new location. After the funding was granted, the Center was accepted by a vote of the four schools selected by district principals as possible targets. With this formal acceptance, board members were selected from the faculty, administration and community by election or, when there was no contest, volunteers were admitted.

The board members initially had little information about what their own or the Center's roles were to be. The proposal writers did have specific ideas of what a teacher center is, illustrated from their past experience, but once the Satellite Teacher Center was functioning they saw it as an independent body. It would set its own course determined by its needs. Given the many options such a group has, the board opted for the primary role of being a funding agency for faculty proposals. The guidelines which established criteria for funding teachers' proposals did not reflect any particular educational philosophy or direction. Criteria broadly encompassed efforts to improve school staff potential in a number of ways

(Sherlock, 1977). Most proposals had no problem meeting the criteria and if a proposal was obviously incompatable with the criteria, it could be modified (with the help of the director) before reaching the board for a decision.

The Satellite Teacher Center was separated from the client schools in several ways. Organizationally, it was not part of any of the client schools. Functionally, it was not integrated into the daily routine of the schools. Physically, it was located approximately 3/4 of a mile from three of the four client schools. These may not have been hindrances to a teacher center whose main objective was to fund teacher proposals. If the role of the Center had expanded however, they may have developed into problematic issues.

The Satellite Center offered no released time for teachers to prepare proposals nor intellectual material to stimulate the production of proposals, but it did offer incentive in the form of funds to implement teacher's ideas (which in some cases included time for development). There was also no encouragement for collaborating with others in the design or follow through of projects though it appears that in a number of cases teachers did cooperate on a limited basis.

Neighborhood Corporation for Educational Improvement (NCEI) - East Town High School (9). East Town High School in New York is described by the site researcher (Paoli, 1977) as:

> ...the first community-based high school in New York, and one of the few such in the entire country. While high schools in New York are under the direct jurisdiction of the Central Board of Education, East Town was founded by an independent community corporation (NCEI) consisting of parents and community leaders. It was founded on the belief that education is a collaborative process - the excellence and relevance of which are directly related to the degree of participation of all involved - students,

parents, staff, and, where appropriate, community.

It endorses a posture of shared responsibility and accountability for the design and implementation of the educational process. It is, then, not surprising that staff training was considered of paramount importance at East Town. According to Sylvia Mrozic (one of the original faculty and later responsible for staff workshops) the need to build staff cohesion and a common philosophy of education led the first group teachers to ask for special training sessions, and these continue to the present with little intermittence.

The first major team building session held with the East Town teachers during our documentation was the "River Motel Conference", a three day meeting held in May 1976. The need for this concentrated time was expressed particularly because of the number of new teachers now assigned to East Town who had little knowledge of its philosophy. Sylvia Mrozic was the primary actor in the design of this workshop and in later workshops. Ms. Mrozic, in addition to her status as an original East Town teacher, is also an occasional contributor to educational magazines, a guest lecturer to teacher and parent groups and she has been enrolled in graduate level courses for several years. The goal of the session, according to Ms. Mrozic, was to teach teachers about themselves and to build a working team among them. The actual content of the workshop was primarily curricular; among other activities, teachers were asked to design a program for children with basic skills needs. Some of the activities were implemented in the school.

After this initial conference, weekly teachers' meetings were held to discuss a variety of teacher concerns and to reinforce the school's humanistic philosophy. As with the first workshop, all of these meetings were compulsory. They were conducted every Friday afternoon from 1-3 p.m.

Students were dismissed early on these days. Topics for discussion included: ethnic problems, teaching reading, art in the classroom and classroom management. The agenda was usually planned by Sylvia Mrozic and Tom Torzewski after they solicited teacher ideas through polling. The workshops were an attempt to socialize teachers to the unique situation at East Town and also to give them a sense of collegiality. The curricular content of the workshops appeared to be a means to this end. They could not, however, affect the early training of teachers (since it had no university connections). This indicates that the efforts of East Town were socialization to a particular situation as opposed to the practice of the craft in general. It also did not concern itself formally with the isolation of teachers in the task of teaching nor with day to day assistance in the classroom.

Structural Dimensions of Situated Resources

The first feature of situated resources which we have observed to be important in determining its usefulness is its accessability to the teachers it intends to serve. The first and necessary dimension of accessability is whether the situated resource is in a place and available at times which make it possible for teachers to use it. Given that it is possible for them to use it, situated resources then can be viewed in terms of their greater or lesser availability to teachers. Some teacher centers are nearer to where teachers work and are open for longer periods of accessible time than are others.

The less accessible situated resource can be characterized from our data as an occasional workshop or once a year series of workshops. This situation offers the teacher the opportunity to gather knowledge in process or curriculum, experiment with an idea or to share experiences, but no means

to continue the possibility for growth, experimentation, or observation unless; as an internal activity, the proximity of others involved further discussion. It rarely affects training and student teachers are generally not involved. It does not alter the ethos of teaching unless cooperation is encouraged nor does it alter its structural setting. It is most often useful for transmitting seeds of ideas or techniques, but the follow through is left to fate in the normal school setting.

The situated resource that is a regularly scheduled affair to share ideas and/or materials provides the same opportunities as the one above, but does offer a means to continue discussion, refine ideas or generally expand knowledge. It, however, unlike the most accessible situation, contains more constraints on the frequency and location of information. It is normanlly a scheduled affair and occasionally mandatory, therefore, not allowing the teacher the pleasure of the more spontaneous activities a permanent situation can more easily provide (though it may not). By offering a means to continue discussion etc. it may also encourage a collegiality among teachers and an opportunity to expand rewards by allowing peers to aid each other.

A second feature of a situated resource, also related to accessability, is its availability to teachers at various stages in their careers whether they be student teachers, beginning teachers, or teachers with greater experience. This feature is helpful in two ways. First, it provides opportunities for the improvement of practice to teachers at all stages of their careers. Second, by serving teachers at various stages it provides them with the mutual benefits of observing and serving as models for observation by each other. More experienced teachers can improve their skills by

sharing them with less experienced teachers. Less experienced teachers can observe the practice of more experienced ones.

A situated resource which is affiliated with a university can effect the early training of teachers. It offers a situation to share ideas with experienced teachers and hear them discuss their frustrations and accomplishments. The university or non university resource situation also offers the experienced teacher and student teacher opportunities to expand the audience of their skills to colleagues who, with approval, can enhance the teacher's self image and desire to improve skills in other words, it can add new rewards. It can, in addition, make available in materials, lectures, workshops etc., a permanent vehicle by which the individual teacher can gain an intellectual base to deal with classroom procedures and curricular goals. It may not; however, affect the collegiality of the teacher within his or her school setting unless it is internal to the school. In this case it may promote collegiality outside of the classroom activities, but not necessarily inside of the classroom. For instance. it may become a new adjunct activity while the classroom experience of the teacher remains unchanged. And it may only impact the ethos of individualism if participation in the resource situation encourages cooperation. In most cases it offers a new setting for related work, but leaves the classroom setting and its isolation intact.

Situated resources are most effective in imparting specific skills and to some extent encouraging collegiality. Their effectivness, however, is dependent upon a number of the issues including the frequency of interaction, the availability of the resource and the teacher's perceptions of the rewards offered. If, for example, psychological rewards are important to teachers, how the resource situation helps them to help a particular child or children learn or become more emotionally adjusted or less shy

etc. becomes vital. Of course, there are "lesser" but still important concerns teachers have, particularly about their own well-being and power. In recent studies, however, the tangible rewards connected with these concerns are seen to take on a secondary role. Blanche Geer (1968) notes:

> The devices usually recommended to increase commitment - higher pay, better working conditions and or improved "public image" - have probably not been successful. These are certainly valuables for the worker, but not necessarily commiting valuables, since better pay, condition, and prestige can be obtained by leaving teaching.

Some teacher centers make funds available to teachers. These tangible resources in and of themselves are unlikely to improve practice; they may be effective in conjunction with opportunities to learn skills and have other opportunities which contribute directly to the practice of teaching.

## Change Agents or Facilitators

Within the nine funded sites we have seen at least three efforts by change agents or facilitators to improve the experience of teachers. One group works with teachers withing schools to implement an open corridor approach to teaching and learning (site 8). A second group practices a strategy to increase the involvement of teachers in decision making within their schools (site 3). The third effort is to train some teachers in problem solving techniques (site 1). After describing these groups we will propose important dimensions associated with more and less useful approaches.

### Examples of Change Agents or Facilitators

The Assister Service (8). The Assister Service (8) began in 1967, with its founder and director as its only assister. Presently it has six assisters (8) working in nine elementary schools in a single school district

near Central University. The Assister Service (8) is composed of staff members known as assisters, who work on site in schools on a regular basis, providing in-service support and training for teachers. Their work also brings them into regular contact with parents and principals and with other school staff. All assisters are experienced teachers who have worked for many years in elementary schools and who within their individual teaching experiences have worked as open education teachers. In addition to this background in open education they receive continual professional development through weekly meetings and activities at the University Center (8). The assisters have been characterized by the site researcher as being sound 'generalists' i.e., they have a considerable understanding of and experience with open education ideas and secondly they are specialists i.e., have special skills that they can offer to attract and stimulate teachers. This knowledge they also use in the University Center's workshops as well as in the schools.

The Assister Service (8) provides direct, face-to-face assistance in schools to help reorganize the schools into interrelated mini-communities (learning communities). Assisters (8) facilitate the placement of teachers near each other who have expressed a willingness to work together; schedule regular weekly meetings durtng which teachers discuss issues of common interest and concern; help teachers jointly develop curriculum for the classes that compromise these communities rather than for just one class; help parents and administrators develop skills in supporting these communities. The assisters (8) also advise individual teachers on a number of levels from reorganizing their classrooms and locating materials to drawing the teacher into interactions with other teachers on the same corridor.

Karunakaran (1977) lists the variety of activities assisters may be involved in within one day:

> ...9:50 a.m. Assister (8) keeps appointment to do a dissection of a chicken in a fifth-sixth grade class, observed by the teacher. The assister (8) has brought with her the appropriate dissection instruments...she explains to the children, "you cut the skin away first to expose the flesh"....the teacher and she planned beforehand and there has also been a prior discussion with the kids who in the course of their study asked many questions...The assister leaves and the teacher continues with the lesson.
>
> ...10:45 a.m. One of the less experienced teachers come into the "closet" (location of assister materials) to keep his appointment for a brief one-to-one conference. Teacher reports that he had tried the "days of the week" game with some of the children that the assister had suggested and that "it was a great success". Assister is asked by the teacher to come into his room "sometime this week" and observe a child for him. He couldn't figure out what kind of help she needs.
>
> ...11:45 a.m. Teachers of a learning community are having their weekly meeting. As they eat their lunch, they are joined by one of the University Center staff, who is knowledgeable about science and mechanics and who is on a short assignment to the school because one of the teachers is interested in building a loft in his room.
>
> (After a discussion of lofts)...One of the teachers, says he has some children in his class who are interested in electricity but he doesn't know too much about it....he asks for a workshop on it for next week....this is agreed upon.
>
> ...1:00 p.m. Assister enters a fourth-fifth grade classroom, where as planned beforehand...the assister leads a whole class discussion in preparation for community walk which will take them into the neighborhood center, a day care facility and a store.
>
> ...3:30 p.m. Two assisters leave their respective schools to go up to the University Center where they are scheduled to have a meeting with EVR staff, with whom they are collaborating on a study of the approaches that children's reading processes as part of the study.

Clearly the assister role addresses several issues that deal with the nature of teaching. First, it offers the teacher a model to observe. One has generally not been available since student teaching days. Second, through

the assister new materials and information are available. Third, while the assister models in a classroom, the teacher is given the opportunity to observe the process and the children both of which offer the teacher a vehicle for continually improving his or her skills. Fourth, by facilitating the movement of teachers in the school and suggesting their interaction in particular instances the assister acts to promote collegiality and a socialization into the open education program, an aspect that is contrary to the normal self socialization into teaching. Fifth, the role itself offers a career staging uncommon to teaching and for many a prized role. In addition, the assister offers concrete activities and intellectual substance to grand philosophical issues involving theories of child development (see Karunakaran, 1977) and abstract teaching goals.

El Dorado Faculty Development Project (FDP) (3). FDP was designed as a mechanism for facilitating direct involvement of teachers in educational decision making. It represents an extension of developmental and training activities carried out by the state-wide Teachers Association and its Teacher's Institute. Goals for FDP, as specified in the original grant application (Institute for Teaching, 1974) include the following:

1. Identify the training teacher opinion leaders need to initiate, develop and implement decision making and involvement strategies.

2. Create conditions for high teacher involvement in indentifying and solving local school/community problems.

3. Implement, formalize, and institutionalize processes unique to the needs of each school to provide structures to sustain and stabilize teachers decision making and problem solving within local school.

Attainment of these goals is attempted through leadership training of teacher leaders or three volunteer teachers at each school who participate in a series of workshops. These teachers then help assess the needs of their respective schools, aid in the writing of a constitution which would delineate the areas in which decisions are to be made and by whom, and assist in establishing a faculty council where there is none.

The training of these teacher leaders is initially conducted through a series of workshops. A sample of these include:

1) Open Communication between and among school staff.
2) Teacher concensus building based on individual and collective teacher opinions.
3) Assessing the degree of decision involvement desired by teachers.
4) Assessing Progress/Sharing Experiences
5) Techniques for achieving agreement on a workable school proposal.

FDP proposes that the development of the constitution/proposal and resultant decision making will create an atmosphere that recognizes the expertise and experience of the classroom teacher to identify problem areas and to seek solutions to those problems. And "further, it is an opportunity for teachers to develop self-confidence and to revitalize skills in instructional analysis and problem solving which may have become rusty through disuse" (The Faculty Development Project, n.d.). The teacher leaders however, were not given training in areas of "skills for instructional analysis." Nor were the teacher leaders identified because of any superior instructional abilities.

During the session in which the faculty assesses the degree of decision making involvement they should have, they are asked to prioritize a list supplied by FDP. Items include:

1) School budget & expenditures
2) Inservice training & faculty meeting
3) Principal - teacher relationship
4) Certificated support personnel
5) Parent-teacher relationship
6) Teacher personnel policies
7) Student personnel policies
8) Evaluation
9) Curriculum content & philosophy
10) Instructional materials
11) Instructional methods & grouping
12) School procedures
13) School priorities.

In the majority of cases the highest involvement score in the FDP survey was received by Curriculum content & philosophy; yet reviews of faculty meetings and FDP workshops indicate attention to other areas of concern.

Issues extracted from participating school faculty minutes and site researcher FDF's reveal that the teachers discussed: the cafeteria and how it operates, snack duty, and the availability of the key to the faculty lunch room. When pedogogical issues were brought to the council meetings, as in the case of a bilingual program, the discussion revolved around its acceptance or rejection, but little formal discussion was held around the content or philosophical direction of the program.

The FDP project definitely attempts to deal with the issue of collegiality assuming that the sharing of ideas and philosophies would naturally follow. Though we were able to document little evidence of this. It did in most cases give the faculty power to decide on curriculum but no ongoing way to obtain an intellectual base to sort out the options. It did not deal with the teachers' isolation in the task of teaching. It offered only time together away from the tasks of the classroom and its everyday duties. Nor was the teaching profession staged by the creation of teacher leaders, because it merely generated an additional function for several teachers that did not relate to the mastery of teaching.

Coalition for Business and Education Collaboration (1). The Coalition for Business and Education Collaboration, an independent non-profit organization of companies and corporations interested in bringing the capacities of business to bear on urban problems, initiated the School Self-Improvement Project in 1974. It was to be a joint effort of industry and education, after their experience with a business in partnership program, to produce public school graduates who could function more effectively in college or the world of work. The project has described its strategy as follows (Davis, 1977):

> Self improvement is a program designed to enable the members of a school community to draw more effectively upon people resources such as the varied talents and natural creativity of its members to systematically identify as many of the school's problems as their capabilities permit.

It involves an ongoing sequential movement through the following phases with the help of both internal and external consultant facilitators (Davis, 1977):

1. entry
2. diagnosis
3. planning
4. research and development
5. implementation
6. evaluation

Professional development within the self-improvement project is not an effort to increase the pedagogical or overall administrative skills of faculty and staff. Rather it has been designed to facilitate the growth and installation of the self-improvement model by providing training to a few individuals aimed at developing in them a capacity for problem solving that could be carried into the school and would eventually filter through to all staff. The techniques used by the project to promote this capacity have been based on organizational development theory. The relationship of this strategy to the nature of teaching is far from lucid; however,

to the extent that one of the potential outcomes of the project according to its proposal as cited in the case study, is "...the extent to which the personnel of each school accept responsibility for shaping their future by setting goals and then striving to attain them" (Davis, 1977), one could assume that teachers would have been encouraged in some manner to promote their own development. The issue for this discussion is if this encouragement was connected in any way to the nature of teaching.

In most schools collaborative planning meetings were attended by teachers, administrators, parents and students and facilitated by an improvement coordinator. This group devised a plan for the school's improvement which was then circulated to various bodies within the school and finally approved. This plan delineated, among other points, a series of programs to be begun in the school, the department to be concerned with the program, and the faculty members to be given released time to plan the program.

Efforts that the self-improvement project made to aid in the development of these programs primarily consisted of the process training of the improvement coordinator. Early in the project this role was seen as an essential element and many workshops were held in order to train these people in development techniques. The improvement coordinator is a teacher who was totally released from teaching duties until fall of 1975 and now teaches two classes each morning. The projects themselves (all of a curricular nature) are planned and directed by project managers (teachers) who have been given some released time and funds.

Our documentation reveals that the improvement coordinator acts primarily as planner and manager. He or she reviews the progress of the project, schedules meetings for participants to discuss planning, conflicts, etc. He or she rarely offers curriculum information to project managers,

though, on occasion has suggested materials which might be used. One of his or her most important roles seems to be as reviewer of any modifications in program designs in order to see that they conform to improvement goals and strategies. However, before our documentation, a workshop was scheduled in January 1975 to give the coordinators an opportunity to outline general curriculum content areas which might be helpful in facilitating project development in their respective schools. As a result of coordinators' concerns, the CBEC set up workshops in the spring of 1975 in general content areas. They were attended by the coordinators and interested faculty and students. As far as we can determine they were not repeated nor was any continual guidance in pedogogy offered by the project or any means to pursue assistance individually except through released time. This is not to imply that such guidance is not available in the school, only that it is not intrinsic to the project.

CBEC indirectly increased the amount of collegiality in the schools through the released time and the funds for planning new activities. Though in reality the plan was often designed by the individual given released time, wider participation was not a necessity. In the latter case "we-feelings" or socialization into the teaching profession was not promoted nor was any intellectual substance offered the teachers for their classroom tasks. A major concern espoused by project participants (teachers) and the site researcher was that though there were new programs instituted, in many cases the curriculum and teaching styles remained the same. The site researcher in New York (Davis, 1977) writes:

> "...One aspect of the Polk mini-school that was touched upon by the Dolly Madison staff was the development of curriculum. Since there had been no new curriculum introduced into the mini school, members of the Dolly Madison

staff agreed that the program might have been better had a new curriculum been developed..." and the site researcher continues "...teachers may in fact, be teaching in the same traditional mode and relating to the students in the same manner as before self-improvement."

Dimensions of Role of Change Agents or Facilitators

The primary dimensions of the change agents or the facilitator role which effect the impact of this role on the nature of teaching concerns the background and origin of the individual assuming the role, the criteria on which the selection is made, and the content of the expertise that the individual brings to the position.

The Change Agent or Facilitator Role whether internal or external to the school, teacher or not teacher, provides the teacher with face-to-face interaction with an adult and thus increases the possibility of extended rewards. This kind of contact could impart information related to teaching skills in curriculum or process. The quality of this information is often determined by, among other things, the frequency with which the change agents skills are improved. This role offers assistance to teachers that can be continual and either formal or informal. In either case it encourages collegiality between at least two persons and enhances the possibility of further contact as the sharing among adults in the school becomes more common which encourages the melioration of the ethos of individualism.

If the change agent position is determined because of a mastery of teaching and he or she takes on the role of "master teacher," it may also offer a new career stage for teachers within the field of teaching. This is an obvious tangible reward for improving skills and remaining in the occupation. If the position is not determined by a mastery of teaching skills it still offers an interesting option, but like administrative positions, it necessitates a step away from teaching. This is the case

of the external consultant also.

## Cooperative Groups

Cooperative groups is a label which designates a structure which places teachers in a unit with other teachers for the planning, practice, and improvement of teaching. We have observed one site (site 8) where teachers along one corridor work together in the practice of open education (site 8). Another site with a modified open program divides teachers and students into families within which they carry on their work (site 5). These sites are described below, followed by a brief description of the dimensions on which they vary in their contribution to the improvement of teaching practice.

### Examples of Cooperative Groups

Learning Community (8). A learning community may be comprised of four or five classes along a hallway, all opening out into the same coorfdor. It is a voluntary arrangement organized by teachers interested in sharing experiences in open education. This may not include all teachers and classes in a school, for voluntarism and commitment is the emphasis. The classes on the corridor of a learning community may range from kindergarten through sixth grade, so that a learning community has children of all ages represented within it. Further, these classss are often with first and second graders mixed, second and third grades mixed and so on. The classes are generally arranged so that the ages closer chronologically to each other also have greater proximity to one another. According to the director of the program, the development of the learning community was an attempt to reorganize. It does not accept the traditional insulation of the teacher, the homogeneous groupings, the traditional structure of the class, etc. Karunakaran (1977), the site researcher writes:

> The great size of urban schools, with their student populations of over a thousand, made some humane reorganization both necessary and desirable -- a reorganization that would help children become accessible to one another and similarly teachers interacting with each other.

The opening of the corridor to form a learning community was a major step in this organization because of its proximity to classrooms as well as its neutrality in relationship to these classrooms.

The corridor space is to function as a pipeline of communication on a number of levels. Early communication in the development of a learning community among teachers tends to focus on specifics of classroom reorganization, and cooperation in the matter of materials for classroom use. While these issues continue to remain important, the emphasis shifts to issues of collaborative curriculum issues of support for children, issues of support for each other.

These issues are often discussed informally; however, there are also weekly learning community meeting for such discussions. As stated, these are usually scheduled through the assister or experienced teacher.

Teachers of learning community I join together to conduct a "staffing" session as described below:

> Teacher, MYH who will chair this staffing meeting calls the meeting to order....MYH asks teacher RN to "present his child". RN states that he had decided to present Sarah because "I am not sure what I should do next with her, and I want help."...I've talked to some of you about the child under the categories of family background, physical characteristics, competencies social relationships and teacher observations. Teacher RN says he is "worried" about Sarah because she "cannot remember anything." She forgets things 20 minutes after she has been told what they are. She forgets the names of letters of the alphabet...she started school last year ...she is healthy...In terms of her gross motor coordination, he says Sarah can hop, skip and jump...She has very poor eye and hand coordination (he gives examples).
>
> Referring to her academic performance, RN states that he has tried to read with her. He finds that "she cannot hold anything"...she has special problems with

> the letters Q and R...she reverses letters when she is writing...she will not initiate any reading. Describing her interests, he says that she loves clay, cooking, playacting, cutting and pasting.
>
> He continues with discussions of family background and social interactions and then teachers ask questions and relate their own experiences with the same child. After extensive discussion they move to recommendations. Teacher WD says "The child appears to have had an interrupted development." She cites early adoption at a "critical stage". WD adds Sarah appears to be a "very bright child." She cites her work with manipulative materials. She suggest that the child be given "the benefit of a rich nursery school curriculum...and lets hold the reading for a while, till she is more ready".... other teachers concur.

Once again collegiality is stressed in this organization of the corridor and through the informal and formal contact teachers share observations that allow them to analyze their own teaching and the progress of the students. In addition they receive guidance from fellow teachers that help them deal with immediate problems as well as more complex educational concepts. This organization also allows flexible planning which draws upon other teacher's talents and offers additional psychological rewards from peers when teachers contribute to lessons outside of their own classroom.

Program for Satellite Teacher Center.* Staff and students of the open program in School I are broken into families. There is approximately a three year age range among students in primary and intermediate families. There are about 150 students and six teachers per family, in addition to aids, volunteers and resource people who work with all families but are members of no particular family. Each family has a leader referred to as a team

*As noted earlier, School I Modified open education program will also be discussed in the context of the Iroquois City project. The decision to include this material was made because School I is a client school of the Teachers' Center, its staff played a vital part in the activities of that Center and, most improtantly, it represents an interesting and innovative program.

leader. The staff as a group work out the family structure, and assignments are based on the needs and interests of staff and students. The team leaders are chosen by each team independently and the method of decision making within each family is left to the family. The stipulated responsibilities of the family include (Alternative Educational Program, n.d.):

1. Designing, organizing, implementing their educational program within the limits of the school program design.
2. Developing and implementing strategies to insure each student takes responsibility for developing skills in decision making and self direction.
3. Using resource staff and resource areas.
4. Coordinating work with other teams.

The teachers of each family meet at least once a week after school and usually once a week before school in addition to numerous informal encounters. The content of these meetings range from general announcements to philosophical discussions, but most often are used to plan the weeks activities, curriculum projects, field trips, staff assignments etc. Since the planning is shared, teachers often use each other as resources for ideas and their implementation. They also use these meetings to discuss particular children's progress or problems.

Each family has a staff room with desks for the teacher and storage space for supplies since teachers do not have classrooms. The teachers, though, do have informally designated areas which, unlike a traditional classroom, have no walls so that observation of each other is commonplace.

The team leader as stated, is chosen by the family. All team leaders are experienced teachers and most have been with this program since its inception though no formal criteria was established for the position. These leaders are full-time teachers and do not receive any additional compensation for their responsibilities. These responsibilities include action as a liaison for the family to the weekly team leader meeting with

the principal and resource staff and socializing new staff members. The team leader meetings are used to discuss school-wide issues such as the use of resource staff and inservice training projects. The actual mode of facilitation used by each team leader in their families varies, but most decisions are made by consensus.

A typical family meeting excerpted from the Iroquois City case study (Sherlock, 1977) proceeds as follows:

> ...I arrived in the family area about 7:50 a.m. The team leader informed me that there was a meeting that morning with the special ed. staff...The meeting began 8:00 and was attended by all of the family teachers, 2 of the special ed. staff, and the social worker. They discussed six children from the family who were receiving special education for learning or behavior problems. They discussed what progress the children were making and what should be done in the future.

More extensive discussions of curriculum and human relations are attended to on Tuesday afternoons when no classes are held, the time being reserved for such issues.

The School I Program clearly attends to the issues of collegiality with the family structure and common work space. This also allows for the sharing of ideas and the socialization of new staff. In addition, it makes visible to teachers the teaching styles and techniques used by their fellows, and it offers a career stage within the teaching field of team leader, a position chosen for expertise and longevity with the program.

The content of family meetings also indicates a sharing of mutual concerns of the educational progress of particular children and the group; however, we do not have evidence that the team leaders have any particular resource to draw upon for their own development so they can continually enhance the work of the family.

Dimensions along which Cooperative Groups Differ

The cooperative groups we have observed differ along two dimensions which we propose as salient to their usefulness: 1) whether they are created by voluntary or compulsory means; 2) the availability to them to stimulating resources. Cooperative Groups offer the teacher the most obvious opportunity to build lasting collegiality particularly if the groups are voluntarily selected. It expands the possible rewards available to teachers, allows them to share experiences and knowledge that my improve their teaching; and may help them in dealing with the grand goals society has given them. It discourages individualism, encourages observation of each others styles and enhances the possibility that teaching techniques might be analyzed and improved. In most cases it also alters the traditional structure of the classroom by making available shared space for classroom activities in part or whole. Cooperative groups however do not necessarily provide themselves with the intellectual base to deal with the process or curricular issues the teacher faces. However, if they have a constant source of information in the form of a situated resource or a master teacher who has a means for renewing his or her intellectual base the groups effectiveness will be enhanced.

## CONCLUSION

It is clear that each attempt to alter the nature of teaching so that problem solving could become part of the daily fabric would not be complete by itself, the key elements appear to be: an accessible resource situation, an internal teacher change agent determined by a mastery of teaching and some arrangement of Cooperative Groups.

for committing themselves to long-term school improvement or problem solving strategies. To reiterate just a few reasons, the occupation does not have the prestige of other occupations. The client does not voluntarily seek their services and the audience of their skills are children who have little influence in the adult world. These features of teachers' work can be overcome by providing opportunities for the improvement of practice of craft through continuous socialization experiences.

The likelihood of a school being able to successfully implement these elements cannot be determined within the scope of this paper because it necessitates a discussion of among other things the supportive context in which the innovation to create the elements may be attempted and the power teachers may be given to determine the choice of such innovations.

If we were to speculate, however, there are at least three issues according to House (1974) one might look at to determine the degree of success as innovative arrangement is likely to have: (1) the amount of personal contact used to spread the idea; (2) the amount of contact the potential adaptor has with the innovation; and (3) the perceived value of the reward for the change. And I would add, in this instance, the completeness with which the issue is tackled so that one aspect of the occupation would not negate the potential benefit the alternation of another aspect may produce.

In summary, teachers as members of bureaucratic school organizations, most often work in an isolated setting with a great degree of autonomy. Because of their autonomy they are often the final implementors of any innovation or problem solving strategies. Teachers can veto any change strategy to some degree by themselves. Thus the nature of teaching as a craft should be an important consideration prior to any attempt to change schools. If it is not, the likelihood that change will be long-term or internalized is lessened.

As we have noted, the state of the occupation as it is today does not enhance the chances for ongoing improvement. There is little evidence that the normal recruitment or training of teachers would inspire continual growth or a commitment to school wide improvement. Geer (1968) in her article "Occupational Commitment and Teaching," notes that teachers have few reasons

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